JOHN GORHAM 1709 - 1751

An Outline of his activities in Nova Scotia 1744 - 1751

Part I: 1744 - 1749; Part II: 1749 - 1751

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In Nova Scotia, John Gorham is best remembered as the leader of Gorham's Rangers, a company of fifty "Indian Rangers of the Woods" who were sent here by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts in 1744 at the request of Governor Paul Mascarene at Annapolis Royal. War had at last broken out between England and France, and the garrison regulars at Annapolis were powerless and ineffectual against the unorthodox methods of warfare as practised by the Micmac and Malicete Indian allies of the French, who besieged the English fort there soon after the outbreak of hostilities. Gorham's Rangers balanced the ledger somewhat and their activities in Nova Scotia for the next few years earned for themselves and their leader a prominent place in the history of this province.

John Gorham led his Rangers for seven years, from the time of their arrival in September, 1744 until his death in England in December, 1751, at the age of 42.

The French at Louisbourg moved swiftly following the declaration of war. Francis du Pont du Vivier led the attack on Canso and completely overwhelmed the British defenders there. The Town and blockhouses were burned, an English man of war tender captured and the entire garrison together with a few inhabitants were taken prisoners and carried off to Louisbourg.

Du Vivier next planned to take Annapolis Royal, the seat of British government in Nova Scotia and the only other British stronghold in the Province. As a stronghold, it wasn't very much. The garrison would have difficulty mustering a hundred men

and the fort itself was in ruinous condition, with several breaches of easy access to an enemy. Built of sandy loam, it was continually in need of repairs, particularly after heavy rains in summer or thaws in winter. Mascarene had asked Shirley for reinforcements against the expected attack, which came on the first of July, when about 300 Indians infested the fort. The arrival on July 5th of the first contingent of New England reinforcements, consisting of 70 men under a Captain and an Ensign, caused the Indians to withdraw to Minas, there to await the arrival of du Vivier.

Mascarene took immediate advantage of the respite and pushed along the work of repairing the fort. About six weeks later, du Vivier appeared with colours flying, having joined forces with his Indians at Minas, and pitched his camp behind a hill about a mile away from the fort.

Du Vivier's siege soon developed or deteriorated into nerve-wracking night attacks by his Indians, to the accompaniment of fire arrows and blood curdling Indian yells and screams, and daily raids and skirmishes around the ramparts. After several days and nights of this, du Vivier proposed very liberal terms for an honourable surrender of the fort. Although many of the garrison officers favoured acceptance, Mascarene was very definitely and violently opposed to surrender on any terms. Several subsequent attempts to obtain surrender were made by du Vivier, and on one occasion came very near to success. The nightly raids and daily skirmishes continued unabated.

The siege had been in effect about three weeks when two ships, an armed brigantine and a small sloop, sailed into the Basin from Boston, bringing about Fifty Indian Rangers of Woods, under the command of a 34 year old New Englander, Captain John Gorham.[1]

Gorham's Rangers brought the total manpower of the gar-

1. Thomas B. Akins, **Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia,** (Halifax, 1869), 146.

rison up to about 270. When arms were provided for these Rangers by Mascarene, by purchase from the brigantine, they formed a welcome addition to Mascarene's forces. But the garrison was still outnumbered about three to one by the French, who were daily expecting further reinforcements in ships and men, guns and other materials.

The two previous shipments of auxiliaries from Boston were admittedly a sorry looking lot. Gorham's Rangers were a good deal worse. They were mostly full-blooded, practically naked Mohawk Indians, with a sprinkling of half-clad half-bloods. Although some of the garrison officers had sent their families to Boston in the early days of the war, there still remained about 70 women and children in the fort[2] and after their harrowing and hair-raising experiences of the past few weeks, all Indians must have seemed to them to be devils incarnate.

Of the Rangers' welcome, Murdoch says, simply, "Mascarene could not lodge them in the garrison, there being no barracks fitted up."[3] They were therefore lodged in the lower town,[4] where there were no defences of any kind.

Gorham's first job was to replenish the dwindling supply of firewood. A large amount was lying ready cut and piled down the Basin and some of the Rangers, armed with guns borrowed from the inadequately armed regulars[5] went in the brigantine to bring it back. One Ranger who was left behind, and obviously left very much to his own devices, wandered too far from the protection of the fort and was promptly taken prisoner. Despite the shortage of arms, Mascarene immediately and humanely sent out a rescue party and a brisk skirmish ensued, in which

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2. W. A. Calnek and A. W. Savary, **History of the County of Annapolis** (Toronto, 1897), 99.

3. Beamish Murdoch, **A History of Nova Scotia** (3 vols., Halifax, 1865, 1866 and 1867), II, 36.

4. **Ibid.,** 80-1.

5. **Ibid.,** 36.

a sergeant was killed and a private wounded. The French losses were believed to be far in excess of those sustained by the garrison.[6]

This sharp exchange, combined no doubt with the arrival of the Rangers, together with the inclement weather, resulted in duVivier's withdrawal to Minas. Ironically enough, his long awaited reinforcements came soon after his retreat and finding that the siege had been raised, they also withdrew.[7] Unfortunately for the impoverished garrison, two vessels from Boston carrying much-needed stores also sailed into the Basin about the same time, and right into the hands of the French.

The Rangers rapidly familiarized themselves with the countryside in the vicinity of the fort, accompanying those either bringing in or going out after supplies. Not long after their arrival, Mascarene tells us, they fell upon a family of Indians lurking in the wooks nearby. The Rangers seized this opportunity to establish a reputation for themselves by killing some and scattering the rest.[8] Gorham soon satisfied Mascarene that he was well qualified for his post.

Born at Yarmouth on the barren shores of Cape Cod in Massachusetts on December 12th, 1709, John Gorham bore a name that was both famous and influential in New England's military history. His was a proud and prominent family, predicated upon several generations of military service and tradition and the rank of Colonel was almost as common in the Gorham family as it is reputed to be in the State of Kentucky. His great-grandfather and namesake had married, in 1643, Desire Howland, the daughter of the first couple to be married in the new Plymouth Colony and therefore one of the first children to be born of white parents in New England. He took part in King Philip's War and died of exposure and exhaustion

6. Akins, **op. cit.**, 138.
7. **Ibid.**, 140. Cf. Murdoch, II, 38.
8. Akins, **op. cit.**, 146.

after participating in the Narragansett Swamp fight in 1675, where he commanded the 2nd Company of Plymouth Volunteers. This was the last and greatest battle between the English and the Indians in New England and resulted in virtually wiping out the redmen there. John's grandfather, and also his namesake, was appointed Captain on June 5th, 1690 in the famous Canada Expedition. He served under Sir William Phipps in his attack on Port Royal that year. He was second in command in Major Church's bloody expedition of 1696, also taking part in the New England expeditions of 1697, 1702 and 1704, attaining the rank of Major in 1702 and that of Lieutenant Colonel in 1703.

John's father, Colonel Shubael Gorham, was also quite familiar with military service in Acadia. He took part in the two unsuccessful New England expeditions against Port Royal in 1707. With Colonel John March in the Spring attack, he held the rank of Ensign in Captain Caleb Williamson's Company, and was with March's successor, Colonel Wainwright later in the same year. It is quite probable that he also took part in the final capture of Port Royal under Nicholson in 1710. In later years he took an active and influential part in obtaining grants from the Legislature of Massachusetts to the officers and soldiers of King Philip's war, in what is now Gorham, Maine.

The family homestead, built in 1670 by the first John Gorham in New England, and which was still in existence in 1921, was at Barnstable and naturally enough a good deal of John's youth was spent aboard the ships of Cape Cod. On March 9th, 1732, at the age of 22, he married his second cousin, the beautiful and talented 19 year old Elizabeth Allen, also of Barnstable. In 1737 he was Captain of the brigantine "Greeland" trading along the coast of Newfoundland.[9] Shortly afterwards and following a voyage to London, England, he proudly carried home the newly-acquired Gorham coat of arms, which

9. See "Col. John Gorham's 'Wast Book' and 'Dayly Journal'

consisted of three crowned lions rampant on an azure field, and for which he had paid the Herald Office the sum of Seven shillings and Six pence.

In March of 1738, Gorham was associated with the Reverend Andrew LeMercier, pastor of the French protestant church at Boston, in a petition to Mascarene's predecessor, Governor Armstrong, for a grant of Sable Island, which they proposed to settle with New Englanders.[10] They were not willing to pay the penny an acre quit rent, as fixed by Royal instructions and although LeMercier had sent livestock and some people to the Island in anticipation of the grant, there is no record of it having been made. It is not unlikely that Gorham had visited the Island during his voyages.

It is believed that he entered military service about 1741.

At the time of his arrival in Annapolis, his wife had given birth to ten children, five of whom were dead. The first three children, who were all girls and aged 5, 4 and 2 years old respectively, passed away within the short period of less than two months, early in 1738. The youngest child was born about two months prior to Gorham's landing here, while the mother was on board a vessel bound for Cape Cod. Whether this child was a boy or girl is difficult to ascertain from its name. It was christened "Sea Delivrance", and died in 1745 at the age of thirteen months.[11]

After duVivier's retreat, life in the garrison at Annapolis again became somewhat easier. The Rangers were still quartered in the lower town, in a large house with a cannon on each of its four sides for added protection.[12]

The armed brigantine returned to Boston late in November. While Gorham was fitting out his own sloop for service, the sails

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10. Murdoch, **op. cit.**, I, 523.
11. "Wast Book"
12. Murdoch, II, 80-1.

were found to be unfit for winter use in the boisterous Bay of Fundy. Supplies were still scarce and it was impossible for him to buy new ones. It was almost impossible to obtain new supplies of any kind.[13] Mascarene was obliged to allow his shivering, ragamuffin soldiers to wrap themselves in blankets as they stood sentry.[14]

On December 6th, 1744, Gorham requested authority to expropriate sails for his sloop and snowshoes for his men. He also asked for authority to take guides and pilots from the local French inhabitants for excursions by both land and sea in search of the enemy. The Council considered favourably the accomplishments of the Rangers in the ten short weeks since their arrival and advised the Governor to authorize Gorham to take whatever he needed for His Majesty's service.[15] A couple of days later, three vessels arrived from Boston with six months provisions and clothing for the New England auxiliaries, but nothing for the regulars, whose work on the defences of the fort had literally reduced them to rags.[16]

About this time word reached Gorham's ears of a great body of Indians being assembled at Minas and Chignecto. He considered it imperative that an attack be launched to either rout them or cut them off before the winter was over, as the assembly was in all probability preparatory to an attack on the fort in the Spring of the following year.

Again Gorham petitioned Council, this time for one of the Boston vessels that had caught his mariner's eye. It was his intention to outfit her as a privateer and he was willing to pay whatever monthly hire the Council thought fit and proper. His own sloop he considered to be too small. He even offered the owner, one Joseph Young, an eighth share in the spoils of war if he was willing to run equal risks with Gorham and his men.

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13. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, vol. XI, doc. 16.
14. Akins, **op. cit.,** 146.
15. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. XI, doc. 16.
16. Akins, **op. cit.,** 150.

Council again advised the Governor to issue the order and Gorham obtained his privateer.[17]

Gorham's authority to take guides and pilots from among the French Acadians for his forays against the Indians caused immediate and considerable consternation in the settlement at Annapolis Royal, and later, also at Grand Pre, Canard and Piziquid.[18] Deputies were sent post haste to Mascarene in protest. It was rumored that any and all Indians, whether of pure or of mixed blood, would be treated as enemies. Since a great many Acadians, including some of the more prominent families had intermarried with the Indians, they consequently were terribly alarmed.

Mascarene pointed out to the deputies that many inhabitants of Annapolis River had Indian blood in them, but they were still living quite peaceably within easy reach of the guns of the fort. He also explained to them that taking guides and pilots was well within the rules of warfare and was practised by all nations. He then asked them to go willingly on service when called or face the alternative of being compelled to do so.

It was fully expected that the French would also appear at the fort in the Spring of 1745. Repairs to the defences were proceeding well and Mascarene, favoured by a very mild winter, was hoping to give a warm reception to the enemy. In January, 1745, John Gorham went back to New England to raise another company of Rangers for service at Annapolis Royal.[19]

In the meantime, the prisoners taken to Louisburg by du-Vivier from Canso were released by Duquesnel, and at their own request were sent to Boston. Thus, one of the greatest military boomerangs in history began its whirling return. Their observations and experiences, told and retold in Boston, re-

17. Akins, **op. cit.,** 17.
18. **Ibid.,** 152.
19. Usher Parsons, **The Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.,** (London 1856), 240.

sulted in feverish preparation for an expedition against the French stronghold.

Gorham knew nothing of all this, of course, when he left Annapolis Royal, but he was deeply involved in the preparations very shortly after he reached Boston. About 18 eventful months were to pass before he could return again to duty under Mascarene.

His father, Colonel Shubael Gorham, was given command of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment. Governor Shirley and General Pepperell persuaded John to assist in recruiting New England men for the expedition and to purchase the whaleboats to be used in landing the troops. For this service he was given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in his father's regiment and was placed in charge of the whaleboats. Pepperell also promised him the great honour of carrying news of the expected victory at Louisburg to England in his own sloop.[20] His commission is dated February 20th, 1745, the same date as his father's. His 33 year old brother, David, also enlisted in the expedition.[21]

Sailing from Nantasket on March 24th, the fleet rendezvoused at Canso on April 4th, where they stayed for three weeks, due to the presence of ice in Gabarus Bay. Pepperell built a new blockhouse, established a battery of eight cannon and stationed there a new garrison of 80 men, with two captains, two lieutenants, two ensigns, a surgeon and a gunner. The crew, untrained militia got their first taste of military drill on the hill back of the fort, where Pepperell anxiously and constantly put them through the rudiments of formations.

On April 22nd, the 40 gun frigate "Eltham", Philip Durell, captain, sailed into Canso Harbour. She was the first of Commo-

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20. T. B. Akins, "The First Council," **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,** vol. II, 26-7.

21. R. P. Gorham, "Notes on the History of the Gorham Family," a manuscript in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

dore Peter Warren's North American squadron and next day was joined by the Commodore himself in his flagship, the 60 gun "Superb" and two other 40 gun frigates, the "Launceston" and the "Mermaid".

On Sunday, April 29th, the fleet left Canso and by May 3rd, a successful landing had been made and the army was camped before Louisburg. The story and significance of that great enterprise requires no repetition or review here. One of the greatest upsets in military history, consequently the subject of considerable study and extensive explanatory material, the general outline is so well known that we need concern ourselves only with that part of the record that details or describes the participation and activities of the subject of this study.

On the 24th of May an inquiry was held into the reason for the failure of an attack the night before on the strongly fortified Island Battery of the French. Carrying 39 guns and a garrison of about 200 men, it was accessible only by two gaps in the rocks. Repeated attempts to capture it had all failed and on the night of May 23rd, Lt.-Col. John Gorham andLt.-Col. Arthur Noble, who was later killed at Grand Pre, were placed in charge of the first real assault against it. Northern lights and a moon were out but the failure was actually due to a lack of junior officers and to drunkeness among the men. A number of officers and others taking part in the attack were questioned and Council completely exonerated both Noble and Gorham of blame in the affair.

Gorham's regiment was camped at Lighthouse Point,[22] opposite the Island Battery, which, so long as it remained in French hands, prevented the English land and naval units from combining forces in their attacks on the town. It was decided that heavy guns at Lighthouse Point would dominate the French guns and so, with almost incredible labour, cannons were inched

22. **Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Series, vol. X, Pepperrell Papers.**

slowly forward and upward to positions prepared by Gorham's men. On June 11th, these guns opened their offensive and by noon of the 15th, the end of the siege was well within sight.

On the 12th, Gorham incurred the wrath of Colonel Samuel Waldo, third in command of the expedition. Waldo accused Gorham of enclosing a piece of ground at Lighthouse Point for his barracks that was larger than the circumference of all Louisburg. That same night, Gorham went almost sleepless. En route back to his quarters, he was stopped by a sentry attached to Captain James Goulding's Company. Gorham was unable —or unwilling—to give the password, and was taken promptly to the Captain's quarters.

Captain Goulding slept heavily that night, perhaps stupefied by the rum that flowed all too plentifully at Louisburg, for it took considerable time to awaken him. Gorham was asked his name, station and destination. The sleepy, ill-tempered captain was not easily satisfied or convinced, for Gorham reported to Pepperell that he "was called by him a liar, and a coward, and sundry other such provoking speeches from some of his men in the dark". After considerable argument, Goulding ordered a guard of musketeers to escort Gorham to Colonel Richmond of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment. Richmond released Gorham but by this time it was much too late to return to his own barracks so he spent the rest of the night with Richmond. In the morning, he says he looked for Captain Goulding, who perhaps prudently and purposely kept out of his way. Gorham tells Pepperell that this was not the first nor even the second time he had met with things of this nature and asks whether they are to be publicly looked into or settled privately.[23] Whatever the answer was, it is a matter of record that Captain James Goulding was later dismissed from His Majesty's service.[24]

Another difference of opinion with Colonel Waldo arose over

23. **Pepperell Papers,** op. cit., 273-5.
24. **Ibid.,** 532.

a schooner that Gorham had apparently taken over and fitted up, inside the harbour. According to Waldo, Commodore Warren had need of it and he (Waldo) sent a man, Shipman by name, to sail her out and over to the Commodore. Shipman was promised 50 gallons of rum to get her safely out, but Gorham refused to give her up. He claimed to have spent a considerable amount on fitting her for service and could not be expected to give her up to a common sailor, who volunteered neither reason nor explanation. Waldo charged that Gorham was afraid of losing what he called a 'benefit' by using her to bring livestock from Sable Island. The final outcome of the matter is not recorded, but Gorham appears to have won his point, and the schooner too.

The guns at Lighthouse Point swiftly subdued the Island Battery and the mighty fortress fell. On the 18th of June, 1745. a supposedly fast schooner under command of Captain Bennet slipped quietly out of Louisburg Harbour with jubilant despatches for Governor Shirley at Boston. She did not reach there, however, until one o'clock in the morning of July 3rd—a full fortnight later—with the news of victory.[25]

Pepperrell's promise that Gorham would carry the victory despatches to England was made before Warren joined the expedition. Warren's rank was equal to Pepperell's and he felt that it would be disrespectful to the King to send any other than a highranking, regularly commissioned naval officer with the news of victory.[26] Warren's argument carried and a resentful Gorham was obliged to stay with his regiment until the following Spring, when the relief regulars arrived from Gibraltar. Captain Montague of the Mermaid carried the despatches to London, and received a present of 500 guineas from the Admiralty. Warren was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral and Pepperell was created a baronet.

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25. Joseph Plimsoll Edwards "Louisburg," **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, IX,** 177.
26. Parsons, **op. cit.,** 240.

Under the terms of the capitulation, the New England militia were not allowed to plunder, despite the fact that they had been promised that privilege. To make matters worse the fleet took several rich prizes and all the sailors shared in the spoils. This caused great dissatisfaction and disappointment among the troops, who felt that they had contributed far more than the navy towards the hardwon victory. Despite strict orders to the contrary, considerable looting was in fact carried on. At a Council of War on July 1st, a committee headed by Colonel Waldo was appointed to search for the illegal booty. Lt.-Col. John Gorham was a member of the committee.

Gorham appears to have kept in touch with affairs at Annapolis while at Louisburg. In September, he sailed for Boulesang in the gut of Canso for news of his old post, and to learn the disposition of the inhabitants. He left Louisburg on the 14th and returned on the 24th, reporting everything quiet in Nova Scotia.[27] This trip was no doubt made as a trial run in the schooner he had acquired despite Waldo's disapproval.

As winter approached, sickness struck the victorious troops and great numbers died. When Shirley returned to Boston after his visit to the scene of victory in October, the garrison numbered 2,740 men. In January of 1746, about 500 were dead while nearly 1,100 were sick. By the following April nearly half the garrison were dead.[28] Among those stricken was Colonel Shubael Gorham who died on February 20th, exactly one year after he was commissioned, at the age of 60 years. His son John was promoted by General Pepperell to command the regiment.

John Gorham remained at Louisburg until about April 13th, 1746, when he returned to Boston. He spent some time in New England and after his regiment was disbanded, returned to his post at Annapolis Royal. He brought with him his 21 year

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27. Louis Effingham de Forest (ed.), **Louisbourg Journals 1745 (New York, 1932)**, 64-6.

28. Murdock, **op. cit.**, II, 66.

old brother, Joseph, who was commissioned Lieutenant in the Rangers. In August, the "Ordnance" packet was sent up the Bay with Mr. How and Lieutenant Joseph Gorham and a party of Rangers to obtain intelligence as to the movement of the French.[29] At Cobequid a French priest and four deputies were taken prisoners in a surprise night raid. On behalf of the Acadians there, the Abbe LeLoutre addressed a petition to the inhabitants of the Parish of Beaubassin, describing the attack and begging their assistance in removing immediately from Cobequid to the safety of French territory. He said that the English planned to erect a blockhouse and small fort and that Colonel John Gorham was soon expected to join his brother with an additional 100 men.[30]

Gorham established several blockhouses at various strategic points, including Cobequid and Chignecto[31] during the summer of 1746.

Conditions in the fort at Annapolis were now very much improved.[32]

Mascarene was in close and constant communication with Governor Shirley, and any news of French movements was received and transmitted to Boston with the utmost dispatch. The arrival of d'Anville's fleet at Chebucto was the cause of great alarm, not only at Annapolis but all along the Atlantic seaboard. DeRamezay, from Canada, appeared at the fort towards the end of September with about 700 men but camped some distance away, awaiting the arrival of the fleet.[33] Word was hurriedly sent to Boston, accompanied by most urgent request for further reinforcements. The French squadron left

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29. Murdoch, op. cit., II, 87.

30. Akins, **Select Documents,** 231-233.

31. J. C. Webster, **Journal of Joshua Winslow** (Historical Studies No. 2—New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N. B., 1936) Note 29.

32. Murdoch, II, 78.

33. **Ibid.,** 95.

Chebucto for Annapolis, but ill-luck continually and persistently dogged their every movement. Two ships eventually did reach Annapolis Basin, but finding there the "Chester", man of war of 50 guns, the "Shirley", frigate of 20 guns, and the "Ordnance" packet, they left again without firing a shot. In the meantime, deRamezay had tired of waiting, broken camp and gone to Minas, from whence he went to Chignecto soon afterwards.[34]

Following the withdrawl of the French forces by land and sea, Gorham planned a counter offensive. He wrote to Governor Shirley on November 15th telling him that on account of bad weather, all expeditions up to the Bay of Fundy by boats were over for the year. He considered it of vital importance to take possession of Minas and told Shirley that if the expected reinforcements came in sufficient numbers, he would send them there. Failing that, he suggested that the surest and best way would be to send a force direct from New England to Minas in the Spring, without, as he said, "ever touching here or even letting this place have any knowledge of the same". He said, "They will soon know at Minas what we are about here, though we cannot know what they are about there."[35]

About a month later, the reinforcements, consisting of 470 officers and men, reached Annapolis under the command of Lieut-Col. Arthur Noble, Gorham's brother officer from Louisburg.[36]

Gorham embarked immediately for Grand Pre, where he spent some time with Noble, plotting and planning their offensive. On the 29th of January, 1747, Gorham and Major Phillips returned overland to Annapolis. Two days later, after an incredible march from Chignecto, the French under de Villiers made their surprise night attack, and Noble, who was left in

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34. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 95.

35. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 13, doc. 34.
Murdoch, **op. cit., II,** 105.

36. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 105.

command during Gorham's absence, was killed in his night shirt, as were a number of other officers. The troops surrendered after some bitter hand to fighting.[37] Since he was not present during the actual attack, Gorham as commander of the expedition was specifically excluded from the terms of the surrender, and on the 9th of February, Mascarene sent him to meet the dejected and defeated company en route to Annapolis.[38]

News of the dissaster was sent to Governor Shirley, who relayed it to the Duke of Newcastle in a letter dated at Boston on February 27th.[39] In it, he said, "I think the great service which Lieutenant-Colonel Gorham's Company of Rangers has been to the garrison at Annapolis Royal is a demonstration of the usefulness of such a corps, besides that it may be the means of bringing Indians out of the French interests into His Majesty's Service, and go far towards reclaiming 'em in general". He thought that this would be assured if, as he had proposed before to the Duke, two trading posts, one at Minas and the other at Chignecto were established to supply the Indians with provisions and other necessities in exchange for furs. The Micmac was supposed to be vulnerable only through his pocket, and presents were the unfailing resource of those who desired to guide him. Shirley reiterated his great confidence in Gorham and his Rangers in another letter to the Duke of Newcastle dated May 22nd, and recommended continuance of their service to his Graces' consideration.[40]

Gorham again went to New England to discuss with Shirley the defence of the province. All along the Atlantic seaboard, the colonies had been given a bad scare by the d'Anville expedition, and plans for settling the French problem in Nova Scotia once and for all were the chief topic of discussion. Governors

37. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 104-110.
38. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 13, doc. 38.
39. **Ibid.,** vol. 14, doc. 16.
40. **Ibid,** vol. 13, doc. 22.

Shirley and Knowles were willing to provide the men if England would bear the expense. On April 28th, 1747 John Gorham was sent to England to explain and discuss the situation with the Duke of Newcastle. Shirley furnished him with a letter of introduction to the Duke, in which Gorham's services in the defence of the province were described at some length as well as the fact that he was the man most familiar with Nova Scotia by land and sea, and quite master of the disposition of its inhabitants.[41]

Gorham's wife accompanied him to London. They set sail from Boston, probably in Gorham's own sloop, and after about a two months voyage arrived in England. On July 8th, Shirley again wrote to the Duke, outlining his plan to raise 2,000 men out of Massachusetts Bay to send to Nova Scotia. Newcastle forwarded the letter to the Duke of Bedford with favourable comment. Bedford admitted that it was a good plan, and perhaps the most likely one to preserve the Province from falling into the enemies hands, but pointed out two very important objections to it. The first was the great expense of raising such a number of men, and the second was the lateness of the season. He closed with the following comment, "I hope that your Grace will think it proper to give all due encouragement to Captain Gorham, whose service now with his body of Rangers is more than ever absolutely necessary for the immediate preservation of the Province of Nova Scotia."[42]

Gorham and his wife were presented to King George II at St. James Palace, an event important enough in itself in those days to assure Elizabeth Gorham of social prominence back in New England. It is recorded that she was one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of her day.

The Duke of Newcastle sent Gorham back to Governor Shirley on October 3rd, with an advice that His Majesty had

41. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 14, doc. 25.
42. **Ibid.,** vol. 14, doc. 30.

been pleased to grant a commission to Captain Gorham to command a Company of One Hundred men to be employed for the defence of His Majesty's fortress of Annapolis and of the Province of Nova Scotia. The letter continues, "The accounts contained in some of your letters of the good services performed by Captain Gorham and of his zeal and activity in His Majesty's service have been an additional reason with His Majesty to grant him this mark of His Royal favour, which I doubt not he will continue to deserve by his future behaviour. You will give him any assistance he may have occasion for to complete his Company to 100 men and to enable him to employ it usefully. It is apprehended that the case of this gentleman is so particular and the service he has and may render so great, that no inconvenience can arise from this mark of favour to him."[43]

This of course placed the responsibility for the defence of the province squarely on Gorham's shoulders. Mascarene, acting on instructions from England earlier that year, had dismissed all the New England Auxiliaries at Annapolis with the single exception of Gorham's Rangers.[44]

The old problem of supplies still recurred from time to time. In April of the following year, 1748, the officers of the Independent companies stationed at the fort addressed a letter to Governor Mascarene, requesting more meat and less rum and molasses in their diet.[45]. On June 1st, important and very welcome stores for the garrison arrived on board H.M.S. "Mahon", under convoy of two armed schooners, the "Anson" and the Warren". In August, Lieutenant Joseph Gorham and Bartholomew LeMercier went to Minas in the sloop "Diligence", accompanied by both the "Anson" and "Warren", where they delivered merchandise to the deputies there in payment for the

43. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 14, doc. 31.

44. **Ibid.,** vol. 13, doc. 22.

45. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II 121.

provisions supplied by the inhabitants to Colonel Noble's troops prior to the French surprise attack in 1747.[46]

The two armed schooners, the Anson and the Warren which figure largely in accounts of events during this period, were owned by John Gorham. The "Anson" was commanded by Captain John Beare and the "Warren" of 70 tons was under the command of Captain Jonathan Davis. These two ships proved of great service in assisting to keep the inhabitants at the head of the Bay of Fundy under control.

In September, Gorham, Captain Morris and a number of officers and men went to Minas in order to put out the embers of rebellion and disaffection. The houses of two traitors were burned and the French missionary expelled.[47]

On October 19th, Gorham and his Company, together with a detachment of the Independent Auxiliaries, all under Gorham's command, went to St. John.[48] Echoes from this trip were to be heard for many years afterward.

Gorham's instructions were to order the French at St. John to send two deputies to Annapolis Royal to give an account of their conduct during the war. The Abenaqui Indians of the district he was to chide for their breach of faith, which a few years before had caused Governor Shirley to declare war upon them, shortly after Gorham came to Annapolis. If the Indians wanted peace, he was to refer them also to Mascarene.

Crossing the Bay of Fundy in the Anson and Warren Gorham proclaimed the sovereignty of the English on the Saint John River. Until this time, the French had claimed the territory to be undisputeably theirs. Gorham carried out his instructions, successfully with the French, but not so successfully with the Indians. Accounts vary somewhat as to exactly what really

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46. Calnek and Savary, **op. cit.,** 113.
47. Murdoch, **op. cit., II,** 123.
48. **Ibid.,** 123, 133.

happened. Whatever the provocation, Gorham and his men were fired upon by the Abenaquis and two of the Rangers were killed.

In retaliation the Rangers captured two Indians who were held as hostages in an unsuccessful attempt to learn the identity of the killers.[49] Before they left the Indian village was destroyed, and the captives accompanied the Rangers on their excursion up to the head of the Bay. Submission was exacted also from the inhabitants of Beaubassin and Bay Verte. Both of the Indian prisoners escaped, perhaps at Beaubassin, and one eventually found his way back to Saint John but the other, mentioned in one account as a girl, was recaptured and sometime afterwards sent to Boston.

On the 31st of October, while her husband was on this history making expedition, Elizabeth Gorham gave birth at Boston to her 13th child and seventh son, who was christened Solomon.[50]

The expedition returned to Annapolis in November and later that month the Anson and Warren took home to Boston all the men of the Auxiliary Companies whose term of enlistment had expired.[51]

On December 8th, 1748, Gorham was authorized to take the sloop Eagle for another expedition up the Bay. This may have been to accompany Captain Charles Morris, captain of one of the New England companies, who had been authorized by Governor Shirley to make a survey of the province.

Gorham prepared a proposal for settling a township on the eastern coast with New England protestants, and subject to certain conditions. The scheme was submitted to Mascarene and

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49. Murdoch, **op. cit., II,** 123, 133.
50. **New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,** January, 1898.
51. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 124.

the Council on January 4th, 1749 and subsequently sent to the Lords of Trade in England by the Governor, with his comments, about the middle of February.[52]

Captain Morris, who later became Surveyor-General of the province, President of His Majesty's Council and second Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, submitted his plan and report to Shirley, who in turn transmitted it to the Lords of Trade also. The Morris plan was far more comprehensive in scope than the Gorham plan appears to be. It is discussed in some detail by Murdoch in Volume II of his *History of Nova Scotia.*[53]

The Governor of Canada, the Count de la Gallissoniere, addressed a highly indignant letter to Mascarene on January 15th, 1749.[54] He vehemently protested three of Gorham's exploits. He complained of his driving the French missionary out of Minas and burning the houses of the two Frenchmen in September 1748. Exacting submission from the inhabitants of Beaubassin and Bay Verte in October he calls premature and useless. He was even more violently opposed to Gorham's behaviour at the River Saint John. He demanded:

(1) Immediate release of the two Indian hostages,
(2) That nothing shall be changed in the state of religion and its ministers in Acadia.
(3) That Gorham and all others shall be forbidden to solicit or threaten the inhabitants of the River St. John, or of any other dependency of the Government of Canada, to engage them in submissions contrary to the allegiance they owe to the King of France,
(4) I beg of you to let me know if you conceive the Abenaquis are included in the peace, and if so, you will induce Governor Shirley to let them rebuild their village and to leave their missionaries in tranquillity.

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52. Murdoch, **op. cit.** II, 128.
53. **Ibid.,** II, 129.
54. Akins, **Select Documents, 362.**

Both Mascarene and Governor Shirley took great pains in the preparation of a reply to Galissoniere, answering his charges at considerable length. Both claimed for Great Britain the territories referred to by him. They also stoutly defended Gorham's actions at St. John and Minas.[55]

In the meantime, Gorham took his annual vacation, and spent a part of the winter with his family in New England.

The year 1749 marked the peak of Gorham's career in Nova Scotia. After five years here, he was the undisputed authority on practically all matters concerning the welfare of the Province. He had powerful friends here, as well as in New England and in old England too. Among the French and Indians, Gorham's Rangers caused consternation wherever and whenever they appeared. Since his return from England in 1747 he had been chief military officer under Mascarene, and it is perhaps significant that during that period no attacks of any consequence either by the French or their Indian allies had been attempted. The Rangers spent their time mainly in offensive actions and forays and Gorham's strategy seems to have been to keep his opponents continually off balance. Both Canso and Annapolis were in fairly good condition for defence, and Gorham had established blockhouses at various strategic locations. His ships, the *Anson* and *Warren* were likely to turn up anywhere at any time, and since not all the Acadians were loyal to the French crown, there was a continual supply of information flowing in to the English.

Occasionally, of course, the French took captives from the ranks of the Rangers. Woe betide the Ranger who fell into the hands of the local Indians.

In 1745, when Gorham was at Louisburg, five of his Rangers were captured while they were clearing the north side of

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55. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 132 - 134.

Goat Island in Annapolis Basin, for purposes of defence.[56] They were taken overland to Quebec and the Journal of Captain William Pote, who also was captured at Annapolis about the same time, gives an account of the treatment accorded to two Mohawks of the Rangers by the New Brunswick Indians while passing through that province. The squaws were particularly violent and cruel.[57]

By the Spring of 1749, the Lords of Trade and Plantation had finally reached the conclusion that English settlement in Nova Scotia was the only satisfactory long term solution to the French problem there. Back in 1747, the Duke of Newcastle had asked Shirley to outline a plan of civil government for Nova Scotia. The proposals made by Shirley were not used, but once a satisfactory plan was decided upon, it was pushed along as rapidly as possible. The result was that in June, 1749, Colonel the Honourable Edward Cornwallis arrived in Chebucto Harbour at the head of the largest contingent of settlers ever to leave England.

One of his first acts upon arrival was to send a courier overland to Annapolis, asking Mascarene to proceed to Chebucto with five of his councillors. On the following day he also sent around the sloop "Fair Lady", to transport them here.

Mascarene received Cornwallis' letter on the 26th, and on the 27th he ordered Captain Davis, of Gorham's 70 ton schooner, the *Warren* to make ready and take fresh provisions to Chebucto. Mascarene was expecting Cornwallis to come to Annapolis, but on the arrival of the *Fair Lady*, he and his Council, together with Gorham's Rangers and part of his garrison, prepared to embark. They arrived at Chebucto on July 12, and the next day, Governor Cornwallis opened his commission and took oaths of office in their presence. On Friday, July 14th, the new Civil Government was organized. Colonel Paul Mas-

56. Murdoch, **op. cit., II,** 75, 80-81.
57. Cf., **The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.,** (New York, 1896).

carene, Captain John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salisbury and Hugh Davidson were sworn in as Councillors on board the Beaufort, transport.

Thus ended one era in the history of this province and a new one was begun.

II

In the weeks following that first meeting of the Council on board the *Beaufort*, Gorham and his sixty Rangers were extremely busy. All were experienced woodsmen and their services were in constant demand not only by the city-bred settlers, who needed help in clearing lots and building shelters, but also by Cornwallis in the preparation of defences.

On July 9th, following a report from Mascarene[58] that the French were re-establishing their settlement at the mouth of the St. John River, also proposing to erect there a fort to protect them, Cornwallis sent Captain John Rous and Mr. Edward How round in two ships, the *Albany* and the *Boston*,[59] a small sloop to investigate. They found no one at the mouth of the river but shortly after they arrived, a French schooner loaded with provisions appeared, and was promptly taken by Rous. The supplies were for the French party who were camped further up the river, and he offered to release her if the captain would go up and bring back the French officers. The captain agreed and the next day 30 Frenchmen and about 150 Indians appeared with French colours flying. They marched to within musket shot of the '*Albany*'. Rous immediately ordered the colours struck. The French officer showed surprise and reluctance, but Rous resolutely refused to parley until they did so. He carried his point and the officer ordered the colours lowered, after which he came aboard the '*Albany*' and Rous read his instructions and delivered Cornwallis' letter. Afterwards, How

58. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 142.
59. Calnek and Savary, **op. cit.,** 114.

negotiated with the Indians, held several interviews with the chiefs and succeeded in persuading them to send delegates to Cornwallis to renew the old treaties. Thirteen deputies were appointed, and such were How's powers of persuasion that they accompanied him overland[60] to Halifax unarmed, actually without even so much as a hatchet as a token of their confidence in the English rulers.

They arrived at Halifax on Saturday, August 12th and on the following Monday appeared before Cornwallis and his Council on board the 'Beaufort'.[61]

The St. John Indians[62] presented a very different appearance from both the local Indians[63] and those of Gorham's Rangers. Clad in French cast-offs of ragged grey homespun material, their faces were completely covered in vermillion with black lines drawn horizontally across the nose and forehead. Their ears were pierced and adorned with colored ribbons, and some even had pipes stuck through the holes. The squaws were dressed as gaily as the men and in unfortunate and perhaps even tragic contrast to the solemnity of the occasion, the entire party was reported to be hopelessly drunk throughout most of the proceedings.[64]

During the negotiations, they were questioned about the killing of Gorham's men at St. John in October, 1748 and asked if they knew what had become of the Rangers who were captured at Goat Island in Annapolis Basin some three years previously.[65]

The new treaty was read over to them and signed the following day, Tuesday, August 15th. A seventeen-gun salute

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60. Akins, **Select Documents,** 578.
61. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 153-155.
62. T. B. Akins, "History of Halifax City." Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, VIII, 15-16.
63. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 185.
64. Akins, **op. cit., 15-16.**
65. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 75, 80-81.

roared out as they went aboard the 'Beaufort' to sign the treaty, and another when they left. Cornwallis gave them presents, after which they went on board the man-of-war, '*Sphinx*'.

Expressing great satisfaction with the honours done them, they then entertained the settlers with a war dance and songs, which one of the settlers described in a letter as "one continued bellowing and noise".[66]

Edward How and John Gorham were both present at all the meeting with the Indians[67] and both were well aware of the signifance of war paint at the signing of the treaty. The war dance aboard the British man-of-war was their supreme gesture of contempt for their host and his King, completely invalidating the treaty and all their other promises. It is difficult to imagine that either How or Gorham alone would stand idly by and watch the proceedings without expressing some word of warning to Cornwallis. It is almost impossible to believe that both together would say nothing.

It might have been of inestimable value to the British cause in Acadia if Cornwallis had heeded the warnings and advice that men such as Gorham and How, experienced as they were in Indian ways, could, and no doubt did, offer occasionally. A firm and restraining hand at the signing of the treaty might have prevented many attacks and atrocities later.

With regard to any warning that might have been given to Cornwallis at this time, the record is blank.

On the 20th of August, Gorham took the Indians back to St. John on one of his sloops and was accompanied by Edward How, who took along the treaty for ratification by the St. John Tribes.

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66. Akins, **op. cit.,** 15-16.

67. Akins, **Select Documents,** 572.

The next day, Mascarene also left Halifax to return to his post at Annapolis Royal, arriving there on the 24th.[68] A few days later, John's younger brother, Lieutenant Joseph Gorham, was ordered to Canso in the 'Wren' to accompany a party going there to cut hay, and to obtain intelligence of the French in that area. The party was surprised by Indians, who captured the vessel, took twenty prisoners and carried them off to Louisburg. Cornwallis sent two armed cruisers with soldiers on board to recover the prisoners when he heard of the attack, but the French governor at Louisburg sent 16 of them back almost immediately to Cornwallis, and put the other four aboard their own vessel and released them too.[69]

This was the first of many attacks by the Indians in force, following the fiasco at Halifax with the St. John Indians.

John Gorham returned to Halifax from St. John early in September. He was sent by Cornwallis on the 11th to the head of Bedford Basin to establish there the first outpost fort for the protection of the new settlement.[70] It was called Fort Sackville. An armed sloop, probably one of Gorham's, carried all the materials necessary for the construction of barracks and was anchored off-shore for additional support.[71] Gorham chose a strategic location on a small hill about a hundred feet above sea level, for the site of the fort. It overlooked the Sackville River, a water route used by the Indians in their travels to and from the interior parts of the Province, and commanded also the road to Minas which was cut through the woods some years earlier by the French in order to facilitate the shipment of provisions and livestock to Louisburg. It had been used only three years previously to bring supplies to the ill-fated D'Anville expedition. These two routes presented a ready means of attack on the infant settlement to both the hostile French and

68. Murdoch, **op. cit.**, II, 156.
69. **Ibid.**, 157, 161.
70. Akins, **Select Documents**, 505-506.
71. Murdoch, **op. cit.**, II, 160.

their Indian allies. Once again, Gorham and his Rangers were performing the type of service for which they were formed and were justly famed and in which the British regulars were so completely useless.

Later that month, Captain Handfield, who was stationed at Minas, reported another attack by Indians, this time on two English vessels at Chignecto. Eight Indians had gone on board on pretense of trade and made a surprise attack on the crew, three of whom were killed. The English appear to have come off better than usual in this encounter for seven of the Indians were killed or seriously wounded.[72]

Again, on September 30th, Indians attacked the sawmill at Dartmouth. Of six men who were out cutting wood, four were killed, one was taken prisoner and the other escaped.[73]

Next day, H. M. Council met to consider the Indian problem, and on the following Monday a proclamation was issued offering Ten Guineas for each Indian, living or dead, "or his scalp, as is the custom of America."[74]

On October 1st orders were issued to Major Gilman to raise a Company of Volunteers to scour the country all around the Bay. Within three days Clapham had raised 70 of the settlers from whom he chose 50 of the likeliest looking prospects and immediately took to the woods. Major Gilman went to Piscataqua to recruit. Cornwallis planned to join Gilman's Company with Gorham's and send them over the whole province against the Indians.[75]

These measures appear to have given some sense of security to Cornwallis, for in the middle of October he reports as follows: —"The posts of the head of the Bay and Minas are made secure.

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72. Calnek and Savary, **op. cit.,** 162-163.
73. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 162-163.
74. Akins, **Select Documents,** 581 .
75. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 9.

I have ordered a detachment of General Philipps to remain in the former that Gorham and his Company may scour the country".[76]

Gorham presented to Cornwallis and the Council, which met on November 6th, a Memorial "representing the hardships he lay under by not being regularly paid either on account of his Company or for his vessels that had been hired into the service by Governor Shirley, and desiring that His excellency and the Council would advise him what method he should take in order to be reimbursed for considerable sums expended in this Province in His Majesty's Service". His case was recommended by Council to His Grace, the Duke of Bedford.[77]

Gorham actually had discussed the matter with Cornwallis prior to the meeting of Council and a letter dated October 17th was in fact already on its way from Cornwallis to the Duke of Bedford. In it, he had said, "I must mention one thing to your Grace and desire your instruction about it. Captain Gorham has brought two schooners here hired by Governor Shirley during the war, to be under the direction of the man of war stationed upon the coast, and in their absence, of the Commander in Chief of the Province. They are at a most extravagent hire one being £94 and the other £91 per month, besides above £90 per year for whale boats. I am told that the bills for payment of these schooners have been protested. As soon as I knew upon what footing they were, I told Captain Gorham that I would not meddle with them upon any account. I beg leave to refer Your Grace to Governor Shirley for further particulars".[78]

A rough idea of what Cornwallis called the "extravagance" of Gorham's charges may be had by examining the rates paid for the "short term" hire of the vessels used in the expulsion of the

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76. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 209.
77. Akins, **Select Documents,** 595.
78. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 9.

Acadians a few years later. The average monthly rate paid for these was £47-18-6, whereas Gorham's rates were about double this amount.[79]

A number of neutral or friendly Acadians were hired by Cornwallis to clear the road to the fort at Minas, and three days after he presented his memorial to Council, Gorham was ordered to march his Company to Piziquid (Windsor). Cornwallis required him to "observe as you go along in what manner the French carry on the road and what progress they make. In case they want a force to protect them from the Micmacs or that they think such a force is wanted, you will post your Company in several strong detachments along the Road. If they do not desire a guard or think it unnecessary you will continue to march as far as the French settlements and if you hear of any Micmacs thereabouts you will go against them. If not you will return to your post at the head of the Bay and give me an account of your proceedings".[80]

The French evidently were making good progress with the road, with little, if any, molestation from the Indians. Gorham was back at Fort Sackville within ten days, and attended a meeting of the Council on November 20th.[81]

On the 27th, for the first time in nearly two months, the Indians struck again. A party of about three hundred Micmac and St. John Indians, the largest group reported yet to Cornwallis, attacked Captain Handfield's fort at Minas, surprising Lieutenant Hamilton and eighteen men, and taking the whole group prisoners. They remained in the vicinity for seven days, during which period they attacked the fort several times but without any serious damage being done on either side. They then retired towards Chignecto.[82]

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79. Akins, **Select Documents,** 285-293.
80. Cornwallis to the Duke of Bedford, 10 December 1749. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 15 .
81. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 209.
82. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 166-172.

A couple of weeks later, on December 13th, information was given under oath at Halifax that eleven French inhabitants of the Piziquid district had taken an active part in the Indian attack at Minas.[83] Gorham was ordered once again to march his Company to Piziquid, arrest the persons named, search their houses for arms and bring them to Halifax. The order is dated December 19th. Gorham appears to have demurred, possibly because it was over three weeks since the attack. Whatever the reason, however, two days later, another order was addressed by Cornwallis to Lieutenant Petishal of the Halifax garrison, as follows:

"Sir:

"Having ordered Captain Gorham two days ago to march, which he has not complied with, if he does not march within 24 hours after you receive this, it is my order that you put him forthwith in arrest and order the Ensign to march with 50 men to Piziquid to clear that road of any Indians that might be that way".[84]

Next day, on the 22nd, instructions went also to Captain Clapham to send his lieutenant with 25 men to the Fort at the head of the Bay, to join Lieutenant Petishal.

Apparently Gorham left Fort Sackville within the 24 hour limit. He arrived in Piziquid too late to carry out his orders, as the Indians had long since dispersed, taking their prisoners with them, and the Acadians he was looking for had gone too. It was later learned that Hamilton and his men were turned over to the French at Tintamar (Tantramar) River, as were also the prisoners taken at the Dartmouth sawmill.[85] They were taken to Quebec and eventually ransomed with others, for the sum of 882 pounds.[86]

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83. Akins, **Select Documents,** 177.
84. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 170.
85. Murdoch, **op. cit., II,** 183.
86. Akins, "History of Halifax City," 30.

Gorham took three young Frenchmen prisoners and returned with them to Halifax. Cornwallis let them go again the following March, partly on account of their youth, and partly because their fathers were engaged in government works in Halifax.[87] Approximately coincidental with their release, some Frenchmen in Piziquid retaliated and with the help of a couple of Indians, captured three Englishmen there.[88]

Prior to this, however, at a meeting of the Council on February 13th, it was reported that a party of thirty Indians were spending the winter at Cobequid, and plans for their capture were eagerly discussed. It was at this meeting that the ill-feeling between Cornwallis and Gorham, which had been simmering for at least two months, boiled out into the open, and into the records. Gorham commented that it was impracticable to march to Cobequid in winter. Cornwallis lost his temper. and declared to Council there and then and later on in letters to his superiors, that Gorham was no officer at all.[89]

Captain Francis Bartelo, with a lietenant, two ensigns and a hundred men with provisions for 12 days, were ordered to Cobequid. A courier sent there by Cornwallis a month before with a letter to the French priest, Giraud, had not yet returned. Bartelo found neither Indians nor the courier, but brought back the priest.[90]

Gorham was soon vindicated. Within a month of his outburst to the Council, Cornwallis was expressing great satisfaction with Gorham and actually placed him in charge of three companies, including even one of the 'regulars'.[91]

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87. Cornwallis to Bedford, 19 March, 1750.

88. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 173-174.

89. Cornwallis to the Lords of Trade 19 March 1750. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 11.

90. Akins, **Select Documents,** 181-184.

91. Cornwallis to Bedford, 24 March 1750. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 21.

Gorham's position as a man of importance in the affairs of the Province had undergone a tremendous change in the few months since the arrival of Cornwallis. At that time he was the chief military officer under Mascarene. Acting upon the suggestion made in 1747 by the Duke of Newcastle to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, the Rangers were increased from sixty to one hundred, and reliance for the defence of the province was placed largely in Gorham's hands.[92] His reputation among the Indians and French of Acadia was such that they simply refused to meet him. The appearance of him and his Rangers anywhere would practically guarantee the dispersal of any reported gathering of Micmacs, or alternately, secure the wavering cooperation of the Acadians of the district. Gorham was recognized and acknowledged by his superiors here, in New England and in old England too, as one of the leading authorities on the province and the disposition of its inhabitants.[93] Born and bred in the rough and ready school of colonial life, he was equally at home afloat or ashore and was well adapted to the rigors and trials of both. He bore the name and successfully carried on the tradition of a family that for several generations had been proudly and prominently associated with military affairs in New England and Acadia. He was at this time 40 years old, and in the prime of life.

Cornwallis was a man of completely different personality from that of John Gorham. Born in 1713, hence Gorham's junior by four years, his early life was spent in the highest social circles in England. He was the sixth son of Charles, fourth baron Cornwallis, and Lady Charlotte Butler, daughter of the Earl of Arran. His grandfather was the Duke of Ormonde, and his twin brother, Frederick later became Archbishop of Canterbury. His family were wealthy and influential, having large estates in Suffolk and the Channel Islands, as well as a fine household and retinue in London. When the twin brothers were

92. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 14, doc. 31.
93. **Ibid.**, vol. 14, doc. 25.

twelve years old, they were appointed royal pages, attending the royal family and court at Windsor and Hampton Court Palace. At fourteen they entered Eton, where Frederick by an accidental fall, injured his arm, which became paralyzed, thus disqualifying him for military service. Edward Cornwallis entered military service at eighteen and was garrisoned for several years around and about London, but never very far from it. He was gazetted major of the 20th Foot in 1734 and appointed to the personal staff of the Duke of Cumberland. In 1744 he was appointed member of parliament for the borough of Eye in Suffolk. The following year he joined his regiment in Flanders, and was present at the Battle of Fontenoy which ended so disastrously to the Austrian, Dutch and British allies. Cumberland fell into disfavour but Cornwallis was given the post of Groom of His Majesty's bed-chamber. Before the end of the year he was gazetted Lieutenant-Colonel of the 20th Regiment. In the fall of that year he was stationed at Edinburgh and Stirling. Then followed Prestonpans, and Stirling and Culloden. At the close of the rebellion he received the thanks of government, in company with other commanders, for the "satisfactory manner" in which the uprising had been suppressed.

Ill health forced him to resign his command of the 20th regiment in 1748. He was succeeded by Major James Wolfe, whose skill and management of the regiment led him directly to the command of military operations in America and its dramatic climax at Quebec.

Cornwallis was a strict disciplinarian whose submission to the command of his superior officer was the first and only duty without regard to the consequences. Unfortunately, this attitude was to involve him in disgrace on two occasions some years later. Wolfe, his brother officer, says that he was particularly sensitive to reproach. Dr. T. B. Akins says, "If we may judge from the course twice taken by him when under difficulties, he was lack-

ing in the firmness required to oppose the authority of his superior".[94]

Not so Gorham, as several recorded instances will amply testify.

The rules and regulations governing military life and military warfare as understood and practised by Cornwallis were much better suited to the parade grounds and battlefields of Europe than those of America. He was thoroughly familiar with formal warfare as practised by all civilized countries, against an enemy who also understood and abided by the rules. But most European soldiers, from buck private to general, were completely baffled by, and consequently helpless against, the unorthodox and unfamiliar methods of warfare of the Indian. He was considered to be an uncivilized savage, hence was looked upon and treated with contempt, and unfortunately too often greatly underestimated as an adversary. The tragic results of such consideration may be found all too often in our history books. Gorham's specialty and therefore his undeniably great value to the British cause in Acadia, was his knowledge of the Indian, together with his ability to cope successfully with him. It is indeed remarkable that he was able to do so much for that cause, for so long, against so many, with such a comparatively small company.

Another factor in the relations between the two men was the attitude of the professional or regular soldier toward the militia, whom they usually considered, if and when they considered them at all, as beneath contempt. The free and easy ways of the Colonial captain and his Indians were not calculated to endear them to the British regulars, and much less to their officers.

It is however perhaps significant that no Indian attack was ever made on the town of Halifax.[95]

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94. T. B. Akins, "The First Council," 20-21.
95. Akins, "History of Halifax City," 28.

Whatever the underlying reason or cause may have been, the fact remains that Cornwallis did not hold Gorham in the same regard as did Mascarene, Shirley and others more familiar than he with the problems of colonial life. Gorham was soon reduced to a subordinate position in the affairs of the day. It is also plainly evident that Gorham was not the type to submit easily to such a situation.

Whether it was by accident, necessity or design, Gorham and his Rangers were soon posted to a new and more remote station. Cornwallis could not dismiss him, as he held the King's commission.[96]. If his post at Fort Sackville was not distant enough to remove the disturbing presence of the colonial captain and thus prevent his active but unwelcome participation in the affairs and problems of the new town, there were other posts. We cannot know for sure if Cornwallis was in fact seeking such excuse or opportunity, but if he was, he did not have long to wait.

News of the retaliatory capture of the three Englishmen at Piziquid reached Halifax, and for the third and last time that winter, Gorham and his Rangers were ordered to march there. The order is dated at Halifax on March 12th, and reads as follows:—

To Captain John Gorham:

You are to march with your Company on Monday morning to Piziquid, to establish yourself there. You are to take the properest post you can to dispose of your Company to the best advantage, till you can erect a blockhouse for your security. You are to take possession of the houses of these men who took up arms and have since absconded, to take their cattle for the use of the Company and publish their being confiscated to His Majesty's use for their audacious and insolent behaviour. You are to find out whose houses the three Englishmen were

96. Akins, **Select Documents,** 628; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 14, doc. 31.

at, who those rebels with two Indians have carried off and send the person to me to answer for his behaviour. You will keep a correspondence with Captain Handfield that you may assist each other as necessity shall require. You are as far as lies in your power to prevent any of the inhabitants that leave the country from carrying off their cattle or destroying their houses. You are to keep good order and discipline among your men and not suffer them to pillage the inhabitants; they will have orders to assist you with all the necessaries, paying them reasonable prices, as likewise to assist you in making your blockhouse. You are as often as opportunity happens to acquaint me with your proceedings; upon anything extraordinary happening you are to dispatch a messenger to me".[97]

Six days later their belongings all packed and ready Gorham and his Sixty Rangers left Fort Sackville, at the head of Bedford Basin for their new post at Windsor.

Cornwallis apparently felt assured that the volunteer company of settlers under Captain William Clapham, who were ambitiously called Rangers, could and would be as effective as Gorham's. Just in case there was any doubt in any one's mind, however, another company would be formed, command of which would go to the man who had led the expedition to Cobequid that the renowned Gorham had declared to be "impracticable."[98]

An easy march through the woods brought them in two days to the St. Croix River. At noon, as the advance party approached the river bank, they were about to cross when an Indian canoe was sighted on the opposite shore. Shortly afterwards, they saw a number of Indians on the other side, partly hidden among the bushes. Advancing to the water's edge, the Rangers stood up to show who they were, and fired a rapid volley into the bushes. The Indians immediately ran upstream towards some houses. Anticipating such a move, Gorham was prepared

97. Murdoch, **op. cit., II,** 174-175.
98. **Ibid., 173.**

for it and gave them a withering fire as they passed. The Indians proved far more numerous than was at first supposed.

I have seen no estimate of the number of Indians taking part in the St. Croix engagement, but never before—or since, for that matter—did any party of Indians, regardless of numerical advantage, choose to meet the Rangers in actual battle. Gorham and two of his men were wounded. These were the only casualties in the Rangers during the battle. Gorham was wounded in the thigh, and this also is the only record I have seen of his being wounded in his entire career. A saw mill and two houses houses on the Halifax side of the river were commandeered, and for three days, Gorham fought a defensive action. As soon as the superior numerical advantage of the Indians became apparent, a messenger was sent post haste back to Fort Sackville for reinforcements. He made the 28 mile trip through the woods in eight hours.[99]

Cornwallis sent Captain William Clapham with his Company of English Rangers and a company of 'regulars' under Captain St. Loe with two wall pieces, to join Gorham.[100]

Stressing the necessity of passing the river and driving away the enemy, Cornwallis gave command of the three companies to Gorham, at the same time expressing complete satisfaction with the conduct of both the Rangers and their leader. He had high hopes for the outcome of the engagement. Cornwallis of course was hoping that Captain Handfield at Minas would hear of the action and send a detachment to attack the Indians from the rear. Perhaps the same thought was in the minds of the Indians too, for with the arrival of reinforcements, the fracas suddenly ended with the dispersal of the enemy.

The three companies proceeded unmolested to Windsor, where Gorham established himself and prepared to carry out his orders.

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99. Cornwallis to Bedford, 24 March 1750. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 40; doc. 21.

100. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 175.

Shortly afterwards, word reached Cornwallis of activities of the French and Indians at Chignecto. It was reported that a detachment had erected a fort there and another at Chippody. The following order was addressed to Major Charles Lawrence on April 4th.[101]

"You will march with the detachment under your command to Piziquid, where you will join the detachment commanded by Captain John Gorham. You will take that detachment under your command and march to Minas, where Captain Handfield will have orders to strengthen your command with 50 men. You will then consult with Captain Rous the properest method of conveying your detachment to Chignecto. It is probable that you may meet with resistance of landing. Therefore it must be left to your discretion to land in such places where you will be least liable to be annoyed. You will establish yourself at Chinecto, send to the deputies and read to them the enclosed letter of proclamation. As there is reason to apprehend that there is a detachment of French forces at Chinecto or thereabouts and that they have erected a fort, in that case you are to endeavour to erase it, as it is an open violation of the Treaties subsisting between the Crowns of England and France. . . . " Captain St. Loe was to take command in case of any accident happening to Major Lawrence.

The forces under Lawrence, consisting of about 400 men. arrived at Chignecto on Friday, April 20th, and included companies in command of Captains Bartelo, Clapham, Cobb, Scott and St. Loe. It is not certain that John Gorham accompanied Lawrence on this first expedition, but his brother, Lieutenant Joseph Gorham did, and is mentioned in Joshua Winslow's account of the Chignecto expeditions. Lawrence found La Corne stationed there with a force of French and Indians drawn up on the shore under the French flag and strongly opposed to his landing. He attempted to land on the opposite side of the

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101. Webster, **Journal of Joshua Winslow,** 30.

Missiquash River, which the French claimed as the boundary, but when Le Loutre set fire to the church and his emissaries swiftly followed his example by putting the torch to a large number of the houses, Lawrence prudently withdrew and returned to Minas, arriving there on Thursday the 26th of April[102]

The blockhouse at Windsor was built by Major Lawrence that summer and was later called Fort Edward.[103] The blockhouse at Dartmouth was also built about this time.[104]

Gorham was back at Halifax again by May 5th, when he attended a meeting of the Council.[105] He learned then that yet another Company of volunteer Rangers had been ordered formed, to serve under Captain Francis Bartelo.[106]

A month later, Gorham applied for leave to go to New England to see what he could do there about his accounts, which were still unpaid.[107] Cornwallis in the meantime had sent his secretary, Mr. Davison, to Boston in May to represent to Lieutenant-Governor Phipps the dangerous state of this colony, to negotiate for money and stores and to ask for the return of the Indian girl taken by Gorham at St. John, in order to have her exchanged.[108] On June 21st, a proclamation increasing the reward to Fifty pounds sterling for every Indian prisoner brought in, and the same for every scalp or head of an Indian was issued by the Governor and Council.

On August 11th, 1750, Colonel John Gorham obtained a grant of a lot of land of about Five acres, called Gorham's Point, in the north suburbs of the town, located roughly at the foot of

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102. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** 177-179.
103. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 182.
104. Harry Piers, "The Old Peninsular Blockhouses and Road at Halifax, 1751," Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXII, 100.
105. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 209.
106. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 180.
107. Akins, **Select Documents,** 188.
108. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II 180.

what is now Gerrish Street.[109] As a matter of fact, there were two Gorham's Points in Nova Scotia for a few years. The first. John Gorham's Point in Halifax, was extinguished some eight years after the grant was made, following the appointment in 1758 of Messrs. Charles Morris, Joshua Mauger and Charles Proctor to value the land at Gorham's Point, which was required for the establishment of a Naval Station.[110] The property now forms part of H. M. C. Dockyard.

The other was located in Lunenburg County, and formed part of a grant to Joseph Gorham. The grant was dated September 16th, 1755 and contained about 300 acres, which included a peninsula known at Gorham's Point, two islands nearby, another peninsula in the passage leading from Mahone Bay to Lunenburg, and a number of islands commonly called the Seven Islands, near to Sacrifice Island, in Mahone Bay. The liberty of "making fish" was reserved to any inhabitants of the province who held the Governor's license thereafter. There are several references to Gorham Hall, Lunenburg County, in the old records.

Joseph Gorham obtained several Crown Grants in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The first of these was dated April 24th, 1752 and was a farm lot of 220 acres at Eastern Passage. The last was dated 1784, and conveyed 7,600 acres on the Kennebcassis River in New Brunswick. In between these years, he had obtained some 20,000 acres at Petitcodiac in 1765, 10,000 acres at Passamaquoddy in 1767 and he also had shares in two other grants totalling 30,000 acres at Petitcodiac granted in 1765. All of these lands had a total area more than 15 times the size of the present City of Halifax, or some 164 square miles. His house in Halifax was built on a grant of about 5 acres, dated May 4th, 1752. He took a great interest in the local Indians and had considerable influence with the Chiefs, and it is reported that the Church of England service in the Micmac tongue

109. Allotment Book, p. 113. Crown Lands office, Halifax, N. S.
110. Murdoch, **op. cit.**, II, 357.

was occasionally read to the Indians at his house in Halifax by the Reverend Thomas Wood of St. Paul's Church, in the year 1770.[111] The house was on the East side of Water Street a hundred feet or so North of North Street. This property also forms a part of H. M. C. Dockyard.

John Gorham received a payment of £188-19-4 on August 17th, 1750, on account of his Company of Rangers.[112] His aplication for leave, made over two months before, was still ungranted. Ironically enough, Cornwallis sent Lieutenant Alexander Callender to Boston about this time to obtain 130 recruits to fill up the Independent Companies of Captains Gorham and Bartelo.[113] Neither Callender nor Major Gilman were very successful with the New Englanders, for in the following June, Cornwallis reported to the Lords of Trade and Plantations on the incompleteness of the Rangers. He says that he has had officers in New England all winter, and could not get twenty men.[114]

Cornwallis was by this time ready for his second attempt on Chignecto. On the 19th of August, Charles Lawrence, now promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, marched once more to Minas, with Lascelles' regiment, about 300 of Warburton's and a number of Rangers, under Gorham.[115] Captain Rous in H. M. Sloop *Albany* was in charge of the smallfleet, which included Gorham's armed sloops, the *Anson* and *Warren,* that conveyed the troops to Chignecto, where they arrived on September 3rd. Captain Rous, Colonel Lawrence and John Gorham went in the Anson to reconnoitre the shore and pick out a landing place. After they went ashore, three Frenchmen, acting as decoys, attempted unsuccessfully to lure them into an ambush of about twenty waiting and concealed Indians. Lawrence, Rous and

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111. Akins, **Select Documents,** 231n.
112. Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 14 August 1750. P.A.N.S. Manuscript, Documents, vol. 35, doc. 17.
113. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 189.
114. Akins, **Select Documents,** 642.

Gorham, who suspected the ambush, reembarked, whereupon the frustrated Indians came running after them.

That night Rous stationed the *Albany* and the *Hound* within musket shot of the marsh in order to observe the actions of the enemy and the next morning at 9 o'clock all other vessels in the fleet were signalled to proceed under sail to their prearranged stations. The *Warren* was ordered to lie in Gallop's Creek, and led the fleet in, closely followed by the *Anson.* The *Warren* received a very brisk fire from about 150 Indians who were less than a pistol shot away. The *Anson* gave good support and a sharp engagement ensued. With the single exception of the Engineer, Mr. Bruce, who was shot in the knee when walking up with Colonel Lawrence, all casualties suffered in the landing were among those aboard the *Anson* and the *Warren.* Captain Phillips of the *Warren* was wounded in the neck and shoulder, and three of her crew were killed, and several of the Rangers were wounded. The *Warren* also was very badly damaged in the assault, and all the casualties were taken on board the *Fair Lady.*[116]

Lawrence made his landing successfully, and established Fort Lawrence. The only blockhouse in the area was one built some years earlier by Gorham.[117]

It is recorded that some time later, a party of Gorham's Rangers one day brought in 25 scalps, claiming the bounty of £10 per scalp. It was strongly suspected that not all of the scalps were those of Indians, but included some Acadians too. The paymaster protested the payment, but was ordered to pay £250 anyway. This may have happened about the same time that Eleven Rangers disappeared completely, without a trace. The records of Chignecto include several instances of extreme cruelty and barbarism by the Rangers, the counterparts of

115. Webster, **Journal of Joshua Winslow,** 36.
116. **Ibid.**
117. **Ibid.,** Note 19.

which can also be found in the actions of the Micmacs against the British.

John Gorham did not remain long at Chignecto after the landing had been made. He took the *Anson* and probably carried despatches from Rous and Lawrence to Cornwallis at Halifax. He left Minas on September 8th, and on his return to Halifax, finally received approval of his application for leave. There is a blank in the records from September 8th, 1750, until December 20th, when he attended a meeting of H. M. Council at Halifax. From that date, he attended all meetings of the Council and occupied himself with the routine affairs of his Company. During his absence, command of the Rangers was given to Captain Bartelo, whom Cornwallis described as "a good officer, and one I can confide in; he has both prudence, activity and courage".[118]

On January 29th, 1751, a further payment of £100 is recorded to Captain John Gorham on account of his Company of Rangers.[119]

In March, a detachment from Cornwallis' regiment was sent to relieve the garrison at Vieux Logis, the fort at Minas. Gorham and his Rangers were ordered to accompany the detachment, and to deliver provisions to Captain St. Loe, who was now in charge of the new Fort Edward, at Windsor. Gorham returned to Halifax about the end of April.

Early in May, a group of Indians, supposed to be acting under the orders of Le Loutre, again attacked the settlement at Dartmouth, killing, scalping and carrying off prisoners.[120] On the 14th of May, a courtmartial was called to enquire into the conduct of Captain William Clapham and his fellow officers.

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118. Akins, **Select Documents,** 183.

119. Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 1 February 1751. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 32.

120. Murdoch, **op. cit.,** II, 201.

who, together with about 60 English Rangers, under their command, had remained in the blockhouse throughout the entire attack, firing through the loopholes and not once venturing out until the Indians had withdrawn.[121]

Soon afterwards, Gorham was again on the move. This time Cornwallis sent him up the Bay of Fundy in the *Anson.* At the St. John River, he found the French there building a fort, and on receiving his report, Cornwallis sent Captain Rous arouid in the *Albany* to destroy it.[122] Gorham was back in Halifax again early in June.

The promotion of trade was of vital importance and concern to Governor Cornwallis and his Council, and there had been for some time now talk of giving a bounty to encourage shipbuilding in the Province and thus promote such trade. The subject may even have been introduced by Gorham himself, for he had a very good reason for doing so.

Since his return from leave, there was great activity up at Gorham's Point ,in the north suburbs, which reached its climax on June 13th. On that day, the brig *Osborne,* the first ship ever built in Halifax was launched. Named in honour of Sir Danvers Osborne, who came to Halifax in August, 1750 and was a member of H. M. Council, and who no doubt supported the move to have the bounty approved, she was christened by His Excellency Governor Cornwallis before a very large crowd. Her owner was John Gorham.

A letter written at Halifax on the day following the launching contains an interesting description of the event. It says, in part: "Yesterday Colonel Gorham had a fine new brig launched, with masts, sails and part of her loading in; before some 1,000 spectators, and went off with admiration. The carpen-

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121. Akins, "History of Halifax City," 28.
122. Cornwallis to Bedford, 24 June 1751. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 32.

ters that built her were dressed in clean white frocks and trousers, clean ruffled shirts and gold laced hats. Such a launch I never saw before ,and everything went on quietly. His Excellency Governor Cornwallis gave her the name of "Osborne". She mounts ten carriage guns, and I hear is bound from hence to Ireland and thence to England. She is commanded by Captain Samuel Appleton".[123]

According to one report, she was built with slave labour, but I have been unable to find anything in the records to substantiate it.

Gorham's daughter, Susan was born in Boston on June 29th. 1751. She was the seventh girl and the fifteenth and last child born to John and Elizabeth Gorham, who had the largest family of any of the many Gorham's I have looked into during my researches on John.

Another payment on account for the hire of the Anson and the Warren, on service in the Bay of Fundy and at Chignecto was made to John Gorham on the first of July. The amount was 500 pounds,[124] a considerable sum of money in those days.

Nearly seven weeks after the *Osborne* was launched it was bounty of "Ten Shillings sterling per ton be paid out of the bounty of "Ten Shillings sterling ped ton be paid out of the Treasury of the province to the owner of every vessel or boat which shall be built after the date hereof within this province upon the said vessel being fitted for sea and the boats for service".[125] So far as Gorham was concerned, the key words in the resolution were, "after the date hereof".

Gorham was chafing under the fact that large sums were still owing him by the Government. Correspondence was pass-

123. C. B. Fergusson, "Nova Scotia," **Halifax Mail-Star,** 2 May 1951, p. 7.
124. Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 1 July 1751. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 36.
125. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 209.

ing on the matter and a letter, written from Halifax under date of July 15th, 1751 gives some indication of Gorham's feelings about it. It is addressed from John Gorham to Sir William Pepperell, and reads in part:

"I delivered your message to our Governor, who since tells me he has written to your honour. I will take the freedom to remind your honour how I came to be in that glorious expedition at Louisburg. I was sent up to recruit from Annapolis Royal, by Governor Mascarene, as that fort was then in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, and this expedition being then in embryo, I was importuned by Governor Shirley and desired by your honour and many more of the Council to raise a number of men and purchase whale boats and proceed in the expedition, as I did. upon condition of my having the liberty of going home (to England) with your honour's packet in my own sloop as soon as the English Flag should be hoisted at Louisburg. But I was disappointed in this and received no commission in his royal regiment. My father died, and most of his regiment at Louisburg. But I thank you for giving me the Commission of Colonel of my fathers' regiment and now I solicit a letter of recommendation abroad, and assistance to carry through my Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts. . . . . "

It is said that Pepperell granted the favours he asked. The meeting of Council on July 31st was the last one attended by John Gorham. Soon afterwards he went to England in the *Osborne*, with what was prabably the first export shipment of lumber from this province. She carried a load of pine trunks for masts, consigned to His Majesty's Naval Yards at Portsmouth, England.[126] Cornwallis also gave him several duplicate despatches for delivery in England.[127]

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126. John Wilson, **A Genuine Narrative of the Transactions in Nova Scotia 1749-1751,** (London, 1751), 6.

127. Cornwallis to Lords of Trade 18 November 1751. P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 63.

On his activities in England there is little on record here, but in view of his errand there, there is no doubt that he would renew his acquaintance with the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Bedford.

In the first issue of the Halifax Gazette, published on Monday, March 23rd, 1752, the following item appeared:

"We have advice also that John Gorham, Esq., one of His Majesty's Council for this Province and Captain of a Company of Rangers, died of Smallpox in London, some time in December last".

Thus ended the career of John Gorham. Perhaps the full story of his activities will never be known. His name is mentioned again and again throughout the pages of history that tell the story of Nova Scotia and the outline I have given is generally only what is available right here in the records at the Archives and other sources in Halifax. It is perhaps unfortunate that a combination of circumstances has deprived him of the prominence that his activities here would seem to warrant.

His post at the head of Bedford Basin, Fort Sackville, was an important outpost fort in the first few years after it was established but declined as the Indians and French were slowly but surely subjected to the growing power of British authority in Nova Scotia. Command of the Rangers was given to John's brother, Joseph,[128] and Cornwallis reduced Clapham's and Bartelo's Companies, as suggested in a letter from the Lords of Trade on March 22nd, 1751. A small blockhouse was erected at Fort Sackville about 1761 and Edward, Duke of Kent ordered new barracks to be built there in 1798.[129] By 1835 it had become an outpost for intercepting deserters, and on April 19th, 1906, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War

128. Murdoch, **op. cit.**, II, 211.

129. Harry Piers, **The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress 1749-1928,** (Publication No. 7, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N. S., 1947), 99.

Department conveyed to Gerald B. Ternan as Trustee, the Old Fort Sackville property.[130] The railway had cut through the middle of it in 1854. Nothing remains on the ground today, although some of the older residents of Bedford can still recall the old guardhouse that stood by the side of the main road before it burned about 1900. It is said that the chimney in the old guard house was big enough to allow prisoners held there to escape.[131]

John Gorham's widow survived him by 35 years, and died on Christmas Day in 1786 at the age of 73.[132] Writing to Governor Cornwallis from Boston on June 8th, 1752, she says, "My dearly beloved husband, in his loyal service to the King, has expended his entire fortune." Some time later, she married again, this time to Captain, later Colonel, John Stevens. The diary of the Reverend Mr. Chandler of Gloucester, Mass., contains the following entry under date of January 20th, 1754: "I drank tea at Captain Stevens, his new wife came on Tuesday. She was the widow of the late Colonel John Gorham of Barnstable. She brought with her, besides three beautiful daughters, one son, Solomon".[133] The three daughters would be fourteen year old Elizabeth, seven year old Mary and 2½ year old Susan. Solomon, the son mentioned, was then 5 years old. In the same diary for November 6th, 1759 there is mention of Daniel Rogers and Elizabeth Gorham (John's daughter and then 19) who were later married. A portrait of Mrs. Elizabeth Gorham Rogers, painted by Copley in 1762 was exhibited in the Low Collection at Copley Hall, Boston.

John Gorham was the eldest son of Colonel Shubel and Mary Thatcher Gorham. Of their ten children, six were sons,

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130. Registry of Deeds, Halifax, Book 385 page 159.

131. George Mullane, Footprints Around and About Bedford Basin, (Halifax, N. S.),30.

132. P.A.N.S., F. E. Crowell, Scrapbook on New Englanders in Nova Scotia.

133. R. P. Gorham, "Notes on the Gorham Family," P.A.N.S.

most of whom attained some prominence. The second son was David who fought under his father at Louisburg, also taking part in the siege at Beausejour in 1755 and later was prominent in the military affairs and forces of New England, where he held the rank of Colonel. He was married three times, and was Registrar of the Probate Court in Barnstable, Mass. for many years.

The third son was William, born in May 1716, and who followed the sea in his early years. In 1765, William Gorham married Anna Mary Hosterman at St. Paul's Church, Halifax.[134] He was appointed Constable for the year 1767,[135] and in August of that year obtained a Crown Grant of 10,000 acres at Passamaquoddy in New Brunswick, adjoining another grant of the same acreage to Joseph William Gorham.

The fourth son, Shubael died at the age of 25, while the fifth was Joseph, of whom mention has been made, and who reached the rank of Major-General in the British Army before he died in Calais, France on July 20th, 1790. He married at Halifax on December 30th, 1764, Anne Spry, the sister of William Spry, the Judge of the Admiralty Court in Halifax for some years. They met on board the *Polly*, bound from St. Helen's to Halifax in 1764. Joseph was appointed a member of H. M. Council two years later. Gorham's Rangers were permanently established as regular troops under Joseph as Major-Commandant on September 25, 1761, sixteen years after they were first formed as a Company by John Gorham. They were disbanded two years later. They were with Wolfe at the Heights of Abraham in 1759 and took part also in the expedition which captured Havana in 1762. Two of John Gorham's sons, Lieutenant Christopher and his brother Charles served under their Uncle Joseph there and both were killed in 1762, Christopher at Havana and Charles at Grenada. Joseph's daughter, Charlotte Spry Gorham, who was born at Gorham's

134. Notes on Lunenburg County Families, Canon Harris, P.A.N.S.
135. N. S. Supreme Court, Pleas of the Crown, 1765 to 1783, P.A.N.S.

Point, married Sir John Jackson of England. The *London Illustrated News* for 1895 published a portrait of Lady Jackson as one of the most beautiful women of England of an earlier era. Joseph's two sons, Joseph William, born September 25th, 1765 and Amherst, born two years later, both served in the British Army.

Benjamin Gorham, the sixth and youngest son, was born on June 5th, 1726. He, like William, followed the sea, and was Captain of the brig "Fortune", one of the vessels that carried tea to Boston in 1774. A Boston paper dated March 7th, 1774 contains the following entry, in part: "Captain Benjamin Gorham, nine weeks from London in the brig Fortune, brought 28½ chests of Bohea tea consigned to several persons here. This evening a number of Indians . . . . emptied every chest of tea into the dock and destroyed the whole 28½ chests".

When the Louisburg Memorial was unveiled on June 17th, 1895, a descendant of Colonel John Gorham through his son, Lieutenant Solomon Gorham, was placed in charge of the procession. He was Colonel James Madison Whittemore.

The Gorham family has a long and illustrious record of service in many fields of endeavour. Their military record alone must be unique. The military service of John Gorham covered the comparatively short period of only seven years, but they were extremely critical and important years. Although his service was in the despised militia—and not even in the usual militia at that, but with a company of savages—it would be difficult to properly assess the great importance and value of that service to the welfare of British interests in the making of history of this Province of Nova Scotia.